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ABSTRACT

In an electoral process in 1988 and 1989, voters replaced General Augusto Pinochet as leader of Chile. The use of political cartoons by both pro- and anti-Pinochet forces is explored in this paper. Cartoons have long been recognized as a form of mass communication. In the Chilean elections cartoons played an important role in the battle for the support of voters. Several cartoons are reproduced, and the ways in which their messages both inform and persuade are analyzed. (DB)

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GOVERNMENTAL USE OF CARTOONS IN CHILE AS A MEANS OF INFORMING AND PERSUADING VOTERS

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GOVERNMENTAL USE OF CARTOONS IN CHILE AS A MEANS OF INFORMING AND PERSUADING VOTERS

On March 11, 1990 General Augusto Pinochet stepped down as the leader of Chile and turned over power to the newly elected President, Patricio Aylwin. This marked the end of 16 1/2 years of military rule in Chile. This article will describe the governmental use of cartoons in Chile as a means of informing and persuading voters during the election campaign that resulted in Pinochet's fall from power. This description will include a discussion of the effects of cartoons, the political situation in Chile, use of cartoons by the Chilean government and the counter use of cartoons by the opposition. Study of cartoons, in the mass communication context, is relevant as it exemplifies a major form of governmental communication in Chile.

Cartoons have long been recognized as a form of mass communication. "Since the comics affect the culture in a variety of popular expressions . . . they merit study as active forces in the development of national ethos" (White and Abel, 1963, p. 3). The influence of cartoons, or art-parables, has been emphasized by a variety of scholars.

"Art-parable can catch a strong man's conscience" (Short, 1968, p. 12). Denis de Rougemont stated "Art-parable is a baited hook; a tender tap; a calculated trap for meditation" (Scott, 1964, p. 63). Picasso viewed art-parable as "a lie that makes us realize truth" (Hazelton, 1967, p. 16). "Art-parable then always has something to say; and for

this reason it will always be more significant for mankind than mere entertainment ever could be" (Short, 1968, p. 15).

In a Journal of Educational Psychology article entitled "Comics as a Social Force," S.M. Greenberg wrote "Comics as a social force came upon us silently and grew to considerable proportions before the 'guardians of culture' were aroused by them (Greenberg, 1944, p. 205). "The comics, in the first place, are potent communicators . . . . When Superman in 1940 zipped overseas and destroyed the Westwall, the Third Reich, in an abusive article in Das Schwarz Korps, branded the super-mundane comic hero a Jew" (White and Abel, 1963, p. 4).

The aforementioned example evidences how writers can use cartoons to convey desired meanings. Charles Schulz, author of "Peanuts," writes "I preach in these cartoons, and I reserve the same rights to say what I want to say as the minister in the pulpit" (Schulz, 1965, p. 46). Thus, it is clear cartoons can be used as political propaganda. Analysis in this article focuses on cartoon propaganda in Chile.

In 1973, General Augusto Pinochet overthrew Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens in a bloody coup. Goosens was killed during the coup. "Pinochet has led a military junta that routinely uses terror to enforce its will. Deep scars remain from a 1973-76 anti-leftist purge in which tens of thousands of Chileans were exiled, tortured or executed" (Greenwald and Lopez, 1988, p. 36). In 1980, Pinochet pushed through a constitution that mandated public elections.

"Eager to gain democratic legitimacy, Pinochet expected a booming economy to buoy his popularity throughout the decade. But a 1982 crash ended that hope . . . ." (Greenwald and Lopez, 1988, p. 36).

The first step in the public election process was a plebiscite held on October 5, 1988. On August 30, 1988 the military junta chose Pinochet as the sole nominee for the October presidential referendum. The author was in Santiago, Chile during part of the August-September campaign and observed the political process.

In the first free Chilean election since the 1973 coup, Chileans faced a simple "yes" or "no" choice. "Yes" indicated Pinochet would serve as president eight more years. "No" meant open presidential elections by December, 1989 (Mott, Contreras, and Levy-Spira, 1988, p. 52). Pinochet's presidency was put to the test with a "no" vote. Under the terms of the 1980 constitution, if he lost the 1989 election "Pinochet would remain president until March 1990; afterwards he could continue as commander in chief of the Army for the next eight years and serve as a senator for life" (Anderson and Contreras, 1988, p. 38). As earlier indicated, he lost the December, 1989 election and has been replaced as President.

While observing the political process in August-September 1988, the author collected mass communication materials produced in support of and against Pinochet. Most pronounced was the use of political cartoons by both sides.

The author collected a variety of pro-Pinochet cartoons that were distributed and posted publicly in Santiago (the capital city). He also collected the smaller number of anti-Pinochet cartoons that were distributed and posted. Although anti-Pinochet sentiment was running high, "no" proponents could not express their opposition easily due to government oppression.

The following pages include representative samples of cartoons that were collected. The cartoons produced by the government served informative and persuasive functions. The informative function was to describe the plebescite process and the persuasive function was to persuade Chileans to support Pinochet. The cartoons are included at the end of this paper as attachments and will be referenced numerically in the text as Cartoon #1, Cartoon #2, etc.

Cartoon #1 serves an informative function. Cartoon #1/Page 1 states "This is how Chile works toward democracy" and "Yes to Liberty and to Progress." Cartoon #1/Page 2 explains the plebescite election process. There are persuasive aspects of this second page but it is primarily informative. Central to the success of the election process was that Chileans understood how the process worked. The rest of the cartoons are persuasive.

Cartoon #2 (pages 1 and 2) shows a runner running a race. A parallel is drawn between the runner winning the race and the Pinochet government winning acknowledgement as the best leadership for Chile. Citizens are reminded things

are going very well and that they should "stay the course".

Cartoon #3/Page 1 equates the Pinochet regime with liberty and proclaims "We Are Free!". Cartoon #3/Page 2 gives examples of more liberty and greater freedoms (i.e. the characters admire the selection of magazines they can choose from). The characters proclaim "Things are very good!").

Cartoon #4 (pages 1 and 2) conveys that the Pinochet government gives tranquility, security, and jobs. The tree on page 1 symbolizes labor laws established by Pinochet and the tree branches are referenced as benefits of the labor laws.

Cartoon #5/Page 1 shows an individual pondering his "yes" or "no" decision. "No" is correlated with doubt. Cartoon #5/Page 2 directs the reader to add the pros and cons of the "yes" and "no" alternatives and to decide accordingly. The "no" alternative is described with negative terms and the "yes" alternative is described with positive terms (such as liberty, justice, and good health). This cartoon closes with the question "Have you decided?".

Cartoon #6 was produced by the opposition against Pinochet. They promoted the "no" alternative. This cartoon uses more concrete logic than the pro-Pinochet cartoons. Cartoon #6/Page 1 states, under the Pinochet system, only Cubans and Russians are welcome in Chile and that, if this continues, there will be no production. Cartoon #6/Page 2 complains that the Pinochet regime does not provide jobs, housing, peace, bread, good health or energy. The overall

message is that eventually there well be no country.

Cartoons #7 and #8 are simple drawings that provide little more than brief statements against Pinochet. Cartoon #7 stresses a "no" vote in the face of death (using a skull as a referent for death). Cartoon #8 shows Pinochet leaving Chile, with luggage in hand, destined for South Africa. The parallel being that South Africa and Chile both have oppressive governments.

It is difficult to substantiate the effectiveness of these cartoons in informing and persuading the Chilean public, but the opposition "No" forces were victbrious over Pinochet and the cartoons were a major form of mass communication for their position since Pinochet had strong control over the mass media in Chile. "Instead of censoring the press, for example, the (Pinochet) regime responded to articles it did not like by jailing reporters and publishers" (Greenwald and Lopez, 1988, p. 37). New President Aylwin has indicated he will restore human rights and civil rights. "To begin his presidency, Aylwin pardoned all political prisoners under the Pinochet regime" (Columbus Dispatch, 1990, p. 3A).

The influence of cartoons as a mass medium is strongly stressed in literature written about cartoons, as earlier noted, and similar influences are exemplified in the cartoons described in this paper. Analysis by this author showed the government was able to distribute more "yes" cartoons than "no" cartoons distributed by the opposition. Both sides of the issue pointed at similar concerns (food, jobs, housing,

etc.). It can be argued, even though the government produced more cartoons dealing with these concerns, a majority of the public had a different view on which side ("yes" or "no") could provide a stronger likelihood of achieving these concerns.

In conclusion, it is clear cartoons can be used to inform and persuade public opinion. This article speculates, although cartoons can be persuasive, the end result of these persuasive messages may produce unintended outcomes. "As factors in shaping a nation's emotional and intellectual responses, they (cartoons) deserve much more study than they have yet received" (Eble, 1963, p. 109). This statement, published in 1963, still holds true today.

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Cartoon #1/Page 1

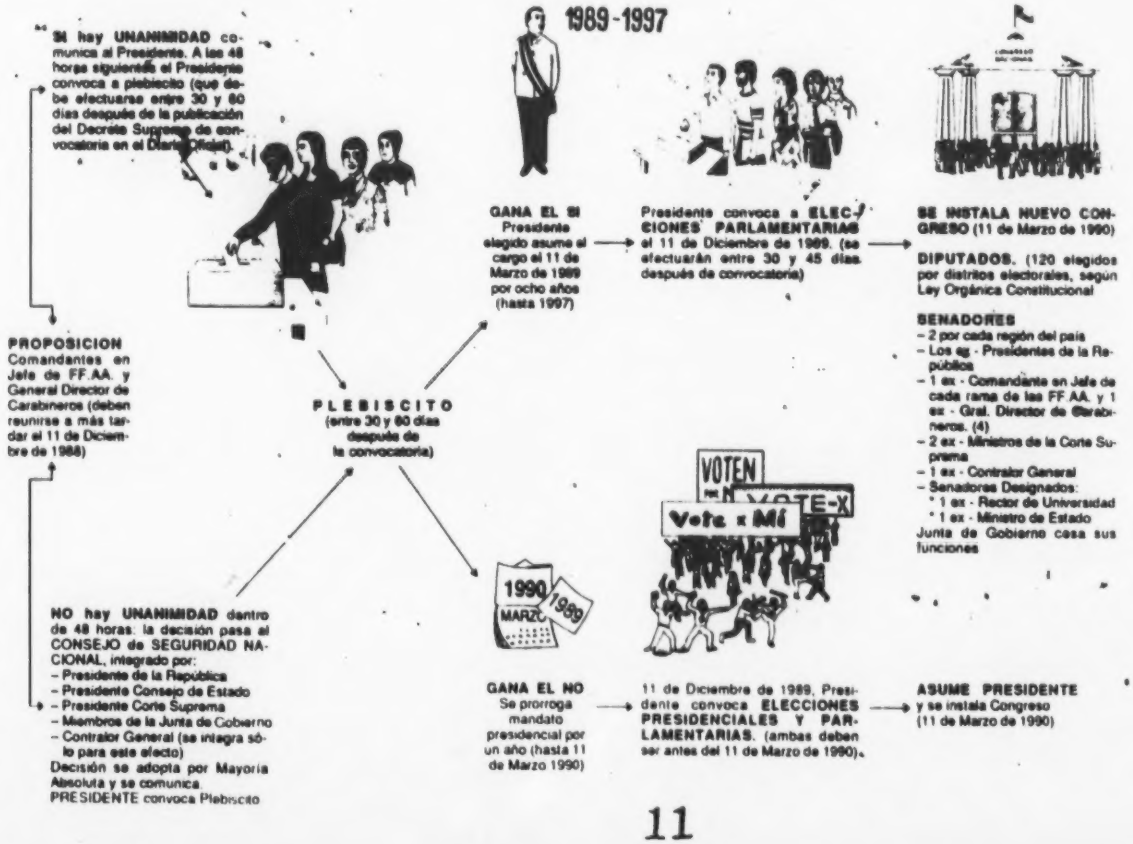
SI A LA LIBERTAD Y AL PROGRESO

ASI CAMINA CHILE

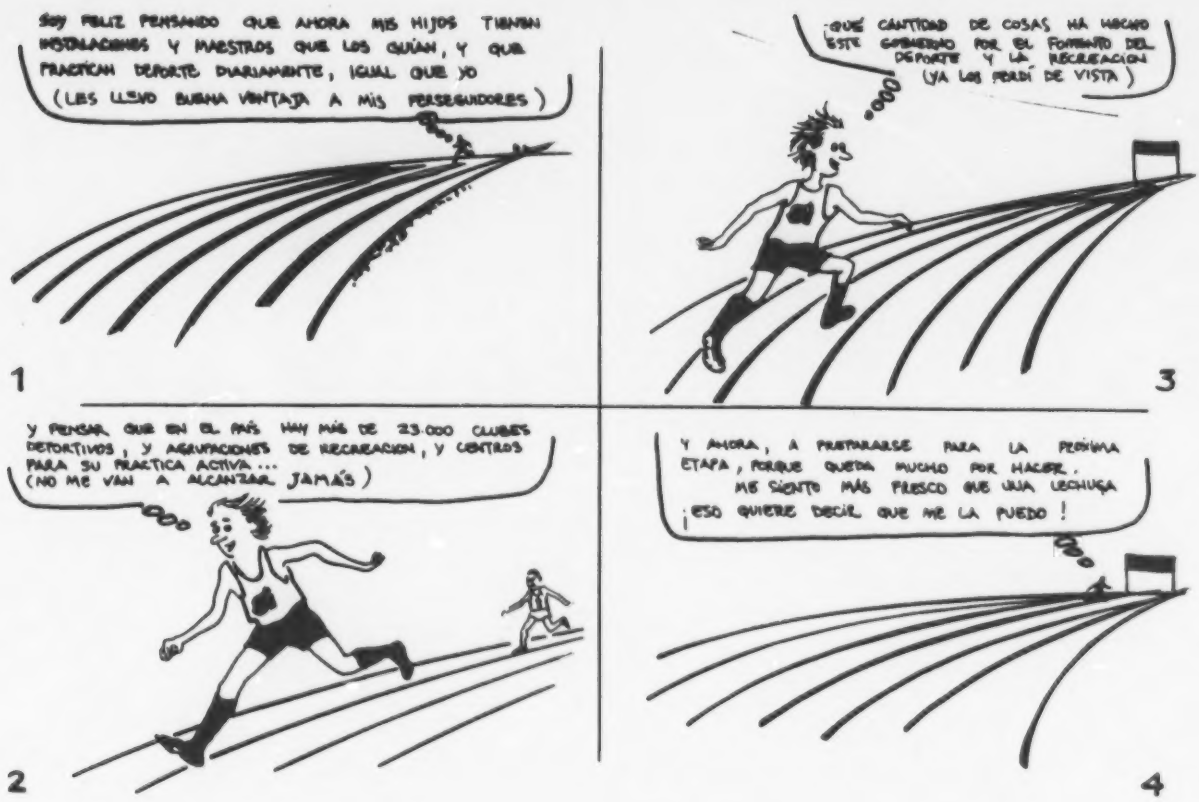
HACIA LA DEMOCRACIA PLENA

Cartoon #1/Page 2

EL PLEBISCITO PRESIDENCIAL EN LA CONSTITUCION


1989-1997
Si hay UNANIMIDAD comunica al Presidente. A las 48 horas siguientes el Presidente convoca a plebiscito (que debe efectuarse entre 30 y 60 días después de la publicación del Decreto Supremo de convocatoria en el Diario Oficial).
PROPOSICION
Comandantes en Jefe de FF.AA. y General Director de Carabineros (deben reunirse a más tardar el 11 de Diciembre de 1988)
PLEBISCITO
(entre 30 y 60 días después de la convocatoria)
NO hay UNANIMIDAD dentro de 48 horas: la decisión pasa al CONSEJO de SEGURIDAD NACIONAL, integrado por:
- Presidente de la República
- Presidente Consejo de Estado
- Presidente Corte Suprema
- Miembros de la Junta de Gobierno
- Contralor General (se integra sólo para este efecto)
Decisión se adopta por Mayoría Absoluta y se comunica.
PRESIDENTE convoca Plebiscito
GANA EL SI
Presidente elegido asume el cargo el 11 de Marzo de 1989 por ocho años (hasta 1997)
Presidente convoca a ELECCIONES PARLAMENTARIAS el 11 de Diciembre de 1989. (se efectuarán entre 30 y 45 días después de convocatoria)
SE INSTALA NUEVO CONGRESO (11 de Marzo de 1990)
DIPUTADOS. (120 elegidos por distritos electorales, segun Ley Orgánica Constitucional
SENADORES
- 2 por cada región del país
- Los ex - Presidentes de la República
- 1 ex - Comandante en Jefe de cada rama de las FF.AA. y 1 ex - Gral. Director de Carabineros. (4)
- 2 ex - Ministros de la Corte Suprema
- 1 ex - Contralor General
- Senadores Designados:
  * 1 ex - Rector de Universidad
  * 1 ex - Ministro de Estado
Junta de Gobierno cesa sus funciones
1990 MARZO 1989
VOTEN
VOTE-X
Vote x Mi
GANA EL NO
Se prorroga mandato presidencial por un año (hasta 11 de Marzo 1990)
11 de Diciembre de 1989, Presidente convoca ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES Y PARLAMENTARIAS. (ambas deben ser antes del 11 de Marzo de 1990).
ASUME PRESIDENTE y se instala Congreso (11 de Marzo de 1990)

Cartoon #2/Page 1


SOY FELIZ PENSANDO QUE AHORA MIS HIJOS TIENEN INSTALACIONES Y MAESTROS QUE LOS GUÍAN, Y QUE PRACTICAN DEPORTE DIARIAMENTE, IGUAL QUE YO
(LES LLEVO BUENA VENTAJA A MIS PERSEGUIDORES)
1
¡QUÉ CANTIDAD DE COSAS HA HECHO ESTE GOBIERNO POR EL FOMENTO DEL DEPORTE Y LA RECREACION
(YA LOS PERDÍ DE VISTA)
3
Y PENSAR QUE EN EL PAÍS HAY MÁS DE 23.000 CLUBES DEPORTIVOS, Y AGRUPACIONES DE RECREACION, Y CENTROS PARA SU PRACTICA ACTIVA...
(NO ME VAN A ALCANZAR JAMÁS)
2
Y AHORA, A PREPARARSE PARA LA PRÓXIMA ETAPA, PORQUE QUEDA MUCHO POR HACER.
ME SIENTO MÁS FRESCO QUE UNA LECHUGA
¡ESO QUIERE DECIR QUE ME LA PUEDO!
4

Cartoon #2/Page 2

Cartoon #3/Page 1

¡SOMOS LIBRES!

Cartoon #3/Page 2

-Oiga, Don Pedro, fíjese que por ahí dicen que no tenemos libertad, ¿qué piensa usted?

-Mire Juan, la gente repite cualquier cosa que oye. La verdad es que este Gobierno nos ha dado mucha más libertad de la que teníamos antes.

-A ver Pedro, explíqueme un poco esto de la libertad.

-Muy simple, ahora, cada uno decide si se afilia o no al sindicato; antes, fuera bueno o malo, estabas obligado a afiliarte y pagar las famosas cuotas. Ahora, cada uno elige dónde depositar sus ahorros previsionales, recuerda que antes todos estábamos en el Seguro o en alguna Caja y nadie sabía cuánto tenía ahorrado;ahora veo cual AFP me conviene más y elijo la que me ofrece mejores condiciones. ¿Ve que ahora tengo más libertad?

-Y, ¿en eso, no más, tenemos Libertad?

-No Juan, además de la libertad económica también tenemos libertad para practicar nuestra religión, para escoger la educación de nuestros hijos. Tenemos libertad en todos los campos, y podemos decidir y elegir lo que nos conviene más.

-Bueno, pero, ¿entonces también hay libertad política?

-Por cierto que sí, yo puedo oir radio y leer diarios, libros y revistas de todas las tendencias políticas que respetan la democracia. También existen los partidos políticos legalmente reconocidos y donde puedo inscribirme, si quiero. Este año va a haber un plebiscito donde voy a tener libertad para tomar mi decisión y si quiero afianzar mi libertad.

¡DEBO APOYAR EL SI!

- Y todo ésto, que es tan bueno, ¿no lo van a cambiar los políticos?

- No sé, amigo. El Gobierno ha trabajado mucho por hacerle justicia al trabajador chileno. Por eso le digo: asegúrese su tranquilidad y estabilidad laboral y siga el camino de los ganadores ...

¡VOTE POR EL SI!

DEBERES Y DERECHOS

- Oiga, Don Pedro, ¿sabe por qué han cambiado tantas leyes laborales?

- Muy simple, amigo. Desde el comienzo de este Gobierno, el Presidente Pinochet vió la necesidad de reformar la legislación laboral porque no protegía realmente los derechos de los trabajadores.

- ¿Entonces, empezaron a dictar nuevas leyes?

- Claro, se dictó la ley sobre Capacitación y Empleo, como forma de perfeccionar al trabajador. Después se dictó otra ley para reglamentar el contrato de trabajo. Luego se garantizó legalmente la libertad sindical, la negociación colectiva, el derecho a huelga, y por último se hicieron leyes para arreglar los problemas que pudieran haber entre los trabajadores y el empleador

Cartoon #4/Page 2

- O sea, que ahora los derechos de los trabajadores están bien garantizados. Y, ¿cómo puede hacerse para que en la práctica sean respetados?

- Bueno, hombre, si para eso están los Tribunales del Trabajo. Allí los jueces tienen la obligación de hacer respetar los derechos y deberes de los empleadores y trabajadores.

- Pero, dígame una cosa, ¿cómo puedo yo, por ejemplo, conocer todas esas leyes?

- Todas están en el Código del Trabajo. Mire, antes de este Gobierno, no había un texto donde se encontraran todas las leyes laborales juntas. Esta situación impedía que los trabajadores las conocieran. Además, a veces no se sabía si algunas leyes regían aún o no. Para poner fin a ese desorden se reunieron todas las leyes en un libro que se llama Código del Trabajo. Allí usted encuentra todas las leyes que le interesan al empleador y al trabajador.

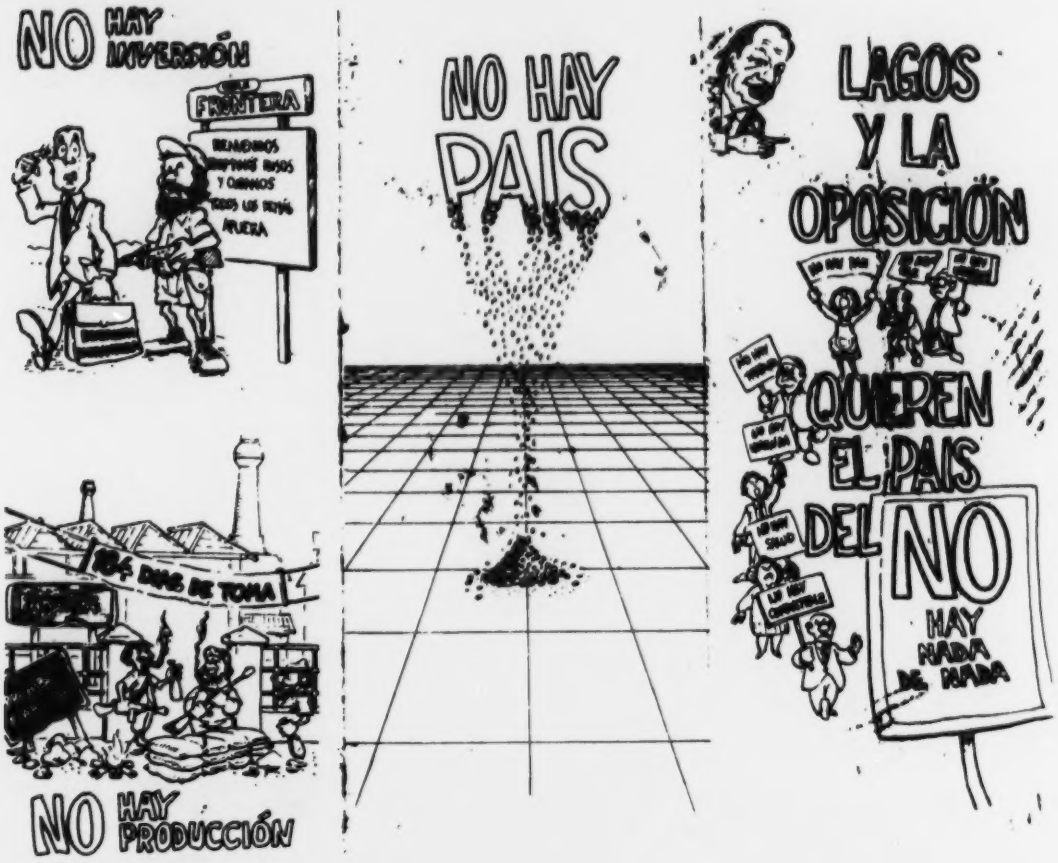
Cartoon #5/Page 2

SUME Y LUEGO DECIDA

CAOS	ORDEN
COLAS	ABASTECIMIENTO
DESORDENES	PROYECCION
DEMAGOGIA	LIBERTAD
INFLACION	PROPIEDAD
ESTATISMOS	EXPORTACIONES
TOMAS	DESARROLLO
POLITIQUERIA	JUSTICIA
INTERVENCIONES	TRABAJO
DESEMPLEO	SALUD
+	+
= NO	= SI

¿TOMO SU DECISION?

Bienvenido, Juntos Avancemos hacia un Futuro Todavía Mejor.



Cartoon #6/Page 2

Cartoon #7

Cartoon #8